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SUBJ: KENNEDY SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF REPORT ON REFUGEE AND CIVILIAN  
WAS CASUALTY PROBLEMS IN INDOCHINA

TEXT REPORT'S QUOTE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS UNQUOTE FOLLOWS  
(UNESSENTIAL WORDS OMITTED):

QUOTE CONTRARY MOST OPINION IN THIS COUNTRY, INDOCHINA WAS  
MARKED BY EXPANDING CONFLICT AND MOUNTING VIOLENCE MANY AREAS.  
HEAVY BATTLE IN MANY SUPPOSEDLY "PACIFIED" AREAS SOUTH VIETNAM--  
ESPECIALLY NORTHERN PROVINCES. HEAVY BOMBING VIETNAM AND LAOS  
CONTINUES. AIR SORTIES OVER CAMBODIA INCREASING.

CONTRARY MOST OPINION IN THIS COUNTRY THAT U.S. IS "GETTING OUT"  
OF INDOCHINA, NEW COMMITMENTS BEING MADE. HOW ELSE CAN WE  
INTERPRET RISING NUMBER U.S. AIR SORTIES OVER CAMBODIA, NEW

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MILITARY AID AGREEMENT WITH LON NOL GOVERNMENT, AND INCREASING FLOW ARMS TO PHNOM PENH?

IF THIS NOT ENOUGH TO SHATTER OPTIMISM ON INDOCHINA, EVIDENCE FROM FIELD CONTINUES TELL TRAGIC STORY OF DEVASTATING IMPACT WAR HAVING ON CIVILIAN POPULATION.

WE ARE CONFRONTED TODAY WITH VERY SERIOUS REFUGG CRISIS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE -- REFUGEES, CIVILIAN CASUALTIES, WAR VICTIMS. MORE THAN OUR GOVERNMENT CARES ADMIT, AMERICAN MILITARY ACTIVITIES -- ESPECIALLY HEAVY BOMBING MANY AREAS -- CONTRIBUTING MUCH TO THIS HUMAN TOLL OF WAR.

I. SOUTH VIETNAM

IN VIETNAM, PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLE AS OVERWHELMING TODAY AS IN THE PAST; IN SOME WAYS EVEN MORE SO.

1. WELL OVER 500,000 REFUGEES REMAIN ON BOOKS, AND THOUSANDS MORE FALLING VICTIM TO WAR EVERY MONTH.

2. AT LEAST THREE MILLION REFUGEES -- NOT ON THE BOOKS -- REMAIN IN CAMPS OR URBAN SLUMS TO WHICH THEY MOVED IN RECENT YEARS. THE HIGHLY ADVERTISED "RETURN-TO-VILLAGE" MOVEMENT SPOTTY AT BEST, AND HAS HAD ONLY MARGINAL EFFECT IN REDUCING REFUGEE BURDEN.

3. U.S. MISSION SAIGON UNDERTOOK DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN IN 1969 TO ELIMINATE REFUGEE PROBLEM BY SYSTEMATICALLY CLASSIFYING IT OUT OF EXISTENCE. MANY REFUGEES "STATISTICALLY RESETTLED" WHILE REMAINING IN OLD CONDITIONS.

4. RESPONSIVENESS OF GVN TO REFUGEE PROBLEMS REMAINS SLUGGISH AND HALF-HEARTED. IN FACT, JUDGING BY PRESIDENT THIEU'S RECENT STATEMENT THAT "NO NEW REFUGEES WILL BE RECEIVED", GVN ATTITUDE ALMOST HOSTILE.

5. MASSIVE INFLUX OVER 200,000 ETHNIC VIETNAMESE FROM CAMBODIA HAS HEAVILY TAXED LIMITED GVN RESOURCES. GVN RECEPTION OF REPATRIATES FROM CAMBODIA HANDLED SURPRISINGLY WELL, BUT THEIR LONG-TERM ADJUSTMENT WILL CAUSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS.



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6. BY OFFICIAL RECORDS, SOME 5,000 CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES STILL BEING ADMITTED TO GVN AND U.S. MILITARY HOSPITALS EACH MONTH -- ADMISSION RATE WHICH HAS VARIED LITTLE IN RECENT YEARS, AND FAILS REFLECT LARGER NUMBER OF CASUALTIES WHO DIE, OR TREATED ELSEWHERE OR NOT AT ALL.

7. MEDICAL FACILITIES FOR TREATMENT CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES HAVE IMPROVED RECENT YEARS. BUT SHORTAGES OF PERSONNEL AND SOME MEDICAL SUPPLIES REMAINS ACUTE. ALSO NOT UNCOMMON SEE 2 OR 3 PATIENTS IN SINGLE BED -- EVEN IN MODEL HOSPITALS.

8. A THREATENED 25 PERCENT BUDGET CUT IN USAID MEDICAL SUPPORT PROGRAM WILL UNDERMINE RECENT PROGRESS IN CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTY TREATMENT. FOR UNTIL THERE A CUT-BACK IN WAR TO MATCH CUT BACKS IN BUDGET, CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES WILL REMAIN PROBLEM FOR PROVINCIAL HOSPITAL SYSTEM.

9. REPORTS OF "SUCCESS" IN PACIFICATION REFLECT AURA OF "PEACEFULNESS" THAT HAS DESCENDED UPON AREAS SOUTH VIETNAM -- ESPECIALLY DELTA. BUT VILLAGERS STILL REMAIN VULNERABLE TO SLIGHTEST CHANGE IN THIS "PEACEFULNESS", BECAUSE GVN DOES NOT HAVE CAPACITY OR WILL TO REALLY SERVE PEOPLE AND SUSTAIN PEACE. GVN'S ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL OF MUCH OF COUNTRYSIDE REMAINS AS UNCERTAIN AND FRAGILE AS IN PAST.

10. IF THE WAR IN VIETNAM WERE TO DISAPPEAR, GVN WOULD STILL CONFRONT MASSIVE SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION PROBLEM INVOLVING LITERALLY MILLIONS PEOPLE -- REFUGEES, CIVILIAN CASUALTIES, ORPHANS, WAR WIDOWS, AND WAR VICTIMS ALL KINDS. TOO LITTLE THOUGHT AND EVEN FEWER RESOURCES HAVE GONE TOWARDS SOLVING THIS GROWING SOCIAL CRISIS AND BREEDING GROUND FOR INSTABILITY AND NEW INSURGENCIES. IN TERMS U.S. GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES IN VIETNAM, LOW PRIORITY USAID GIVING SOCIAL WELFARE AND REHABILITATION PROBLEM IS FOLLY. IN TERMS AMERICA'S COMPLICITY IN MAVOC OR WAR, IS UNCONSCIONABLE.

II. LAOS

IN 1968, SO-CALLED "MANAGEABLE" WAR IN LAOS DRAMATICALLY ESCALATED -- PRECIPITATING MASSIVE CRISIS IN REFUGEES AND CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES. SITUATION AMONG CIVILIANS IN LAOS CONTINUES DETERIORATE.



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1. NUMBER OF OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED REFUGEES APPROACHING 300,000 -- INCLUDING SOME 95,000 PARAMILITARY PERSONNEL AND THEIR DEPENDENTS. AT LEAST 60 PERCENT OF REFUGEES -- NEARLY ALL THOSE IN EXCESS PARAMILITARY GROUP -- HAVE BEEN GENERATED SINCE FEBRUARY 1 THIS YEAR. IN RECENT WEEKS HAS BEEN HEAVY MOVEMENT PEOPLE IN SOUTHERN PANHANDLE LAOS.
2. RATE OF REFUGEE MOVEMENT HAS COINCIDED WITH LEVEL U.S. BOMBING OVER LAOS, WHICH, EXCEPT FOR LIMITATIONS IMPOSED MAINLY BY WEATHER CONDITIONS -- HAS STEADILY FOLLOWED ESCALATING PATTERN SINCE 1968.
3. EFFECTS OF BOMBING, COUPLED WITH INCREASED MILITARY ACTIVITY ON GROUND, HAVE RESULTED IN CIVILIAN CASUALTY RATES COMPARABLE THOSE IN VIETNAM. HILL TRIBESMEN OF NORTHERN LAOS -- ESPECIALLY MEO, WHO BEEN USED AS PAWNS IN U.S. SUPPORTED PARAMILITARY ACTIONS -- HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY HARD HIT BY WAR. AN ESTIMATED 50 PERCENT OF THE 400,000-MAN POPULATION HAVE BEEN LOST TO TIDES OF WAR.
4. CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTY PROBLEM OFFICIALLY DESCRIBED BY USAID AS "SERIOUS AND GETTING WORSE". AVAILABLE STATISTICS FULLY CONFIRM THAT ASSESSMENT.
5. CAPACITY OF EXISTING MEDICAL FACILITIES REMAINS MARGINAL. NO UNCOMMON FOR HOSPITALS TO BE FILLED UP TO 200 PERCENT CAPACITY. VERY SEVERE SHORTAGES MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND PERSONNEL EXIST THROUGHOUT LAOS.
6. RLG AND USAID HAS NOT HAD RESOURCES OR CAPABILITY TO MEET NEEDS OF MANY REFUGEES. THIS MAINLY BECAUSE LOW PRIORITY OUR GOVERNMENT HAS ATTACHED THESE CONCERNS, BEST ILLUSTRATED BY LACK OF "FORMAL" REFUGEE PROGRAM AND LACK OF FUNDS. WHILE USAID HAS BEEN PROGRAMMING ONLY FEW MILLION DOLLARS EACH YEAR FOR REFUGEE RELIEF, MILITARY SPENDING AT PEAK PERIODS UPWARDS OF DOLS 4,680,000.00 A DAY ON BOMBING SORTIES OVER LAOS. FOR ACCORDING TO OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, EACH BOMBING SORTIE OF AN F-105 JET FROM UDORN AIR BASE IN THAILAND (THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF MOST AIRCRAFT SENT OVER NORTHERN LAOS) COSTS DOLS 7,400.00 PER SORTIE -- WHICH ONLY INCLUDES MUNITION AND MAINTENANCE COSTS, AND NOT PERSONNEL COSTS, SIX DAYS

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WORTH OF BOMBING IN LAOS, AVERAGING 600 SORTIES A DAY, COSTS AS MUCH AS ENTIRE REFUGEE RELIEF BUDGET FOR A FULL YEAR.

7. USAID'S "FORMAL" REFUGEE PROGRAM, AS WELL AS ITS VILLAGE HEALTH PROGRAM, HAVE BEEN PRINCIPAL "COVERS" FOR CIA-SPONSORED PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES. PRIME OBJECTIVE USAID IN LAOS HAS BEEN MILITARY AND STRATEGIC, NOT SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC -- IN ORDER PRESERVE SHELL IF NOT SUBSTANCE OF NEUTRAL LAO GOVERNMENT.

8. POPULATION CONTROL -- STRATEGIC MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE -- HAS BEEN USED EXTENSIVELY IN LAOS.

9. AIR WAR OVER LAOS OFFICIALLY UNDER CONTROL RLG IN CONSULTATION WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR VIENTIANE. EVIDENCE SUGGEST THAT, ALTHOUGH U.S. EMBASSY VIENTIANE HAS BOTH TECHNICAL MEANS AND NECESSARY INFORMATION TO VALIDATE AND MONITOR AIR STRIKES BY U.S. AIRCRAFT, THE SHEER VOLUME AND CONSTANCY OF BOMBING ACTIVITY SINCE 1968 MAKES EFFECTIVE CONTROL THESE STRIKES ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. MOREOVER, VALIDATING AND MONITORING AIR STRIKES -- WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS -- IS HANDLED BY ONLY ONE JUNIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, WHO, ON ROUTINE, PART-TIME BASIS, ACTS ON AMBASSADOR'S BEHALF. EVEN THE MOST CONSCIENTIOUS OFFICER WOULD BE UNABLE -- ON REGULAR BASIS -- TO VALIDATE

EACH DAY'S AIR STRIKES, AND THEN TO COMPARE COMPUTER PRINT-OUTS OF THESE STRIKES WITH PHOTOGRAPHIC VERIFICATION. THE RESULT IS THAT, AS CRITICS HAVE LONG ARGUED, "FREE FIRE" ZONES ARE NOT UNCOMMON IN LAOS AND MILITARY HAS DE-FACTO DAILY CONTROL OVER AMERICAN BOMBING -- NOT AMERICAN AMBASSADOR NOR FOR THAT MATTER RLG.

### III. CAMBODIA

CAMBODIA IS LATEST FALLING DOMINO IN SPREADING INDOCHINA WAR. FAMILIAR PATTERNS VIETNAM AND LAOS IN PROGRESSIVE DESTRUCTION AND DISLOCATION OF COUNTRYSIDE IS BEING REPEATED IN CAMBODIA.

1. ALTHOUGH MANY ETHNIC VIETNAMESE BEEN REPATRIATED TO SOUTH VIETNAM, SOME 200,000 REMAIN IN CAMBODIA. THERE LITTLE OFFICIAL CONCERN ABOUT FATE THESE PEOPLE -- ALL INTERNED IN COMPOUNDS OR LIVING IN COMMUNIST HELD TERRITORY -- EXCEPT IN TERMS THEIR AFFECT ON CAMBODIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY. FOR ALL INTENTS AND

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PURPOSES THEIR CARE AND PROTECTION BEING MET SIMPLY BY IGNORING FLIGHT AND SUGGESTING ALL WELL.

2. IN LESS THAN 6 MONTHS THE WAR IN CAMBODIA AND RELATED EVENTS HAVE PROBABLY GENERATED NEARLY 1,000,000 REFUGEES IN ADDITION DISPLACING THE ESTIMATED 400,000 ETHNIC VIETNAMESE. CIVILIAN CASUALTIES RUN IN THOUSANDS.

3. CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DO NOT ANTICIPATE NEED FOR MASSIVE RELIEF EFFORT. THEY ARE COUNTING ON SHORT WAR. NEVER- THELESS THE WAR CONTINUES AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES IN GENEVA NOW PREPARING FOR POSSIBILITY FAMINE NEXT YEAR, SINCE MANY CAMBODIAN PEASANTS REMAINING IN COUNTRYSIDE NOT PLANTING THIS YEAR'S RICE CROP DUE INSECURITY COUNTRYSIDE.

4. OFFICIAL CAMBODIAN VIEW OF UNCONCERN IS SHARED BY U.S. OFFICIALS PHNOM PENH. A SCENARIO DEVELOPING IN CAMBODIA WHICH HAUNTINGLY FAMILIAR TO VIETNAM AND LAOS.

5. MORE THAN OUR GOVERNMENT CARES ADMIT THE RISING NUMBER U.S. AIR SORTIES OVER CAMBODIA - NOW IN DIRECT SUPPORT GROUND MILITARY OPERATIONS - IS CONTRIBUTING MUCH TO RISING TOLL BEING PAID BY CIVILIANS. UNQUOTE, IRWIN

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